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Africa

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CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH AND SURVEY

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Volume XXXII, No. 22

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A glance at the map reveals the strategic importance of Africa. At Gibraltar and at Suez the position of Morocco and Egypt are vitally important in the control of traffic to Asia through the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal. South Africa dominates the sea route around Africa to Asia. And Dakar on the bulge of West Africa is the nearest point in the Eastern hemisphere to the Americas.

Africa's economic importance as a supplier of metals and other raw materials has developed rapidly in recent years. Africa produces one-fifth of the world's copper and tin; nearly one-fourth of its manganese; more than one-half of its gold; palm oil, 70 per cent; sisal, 75 per cent; cobalt, 80 per cent; industrial diamonds, 98 per cent; columbium, 99 per cent; pyrethrum, 100 per cent.¹ Half the world's known supply of uranium is in Africa. (*New York Times*, March 26, 1953.)

Africa is, as Mr. Isaacs points out in the pamphlet just cited, "the last stronghold of European empire." Of an estimated population of 198,000,000, 38,000,000 are in independent native states (Libya, Egypt, Liberia, and Ethiopia) and some 11,500,000 Africans² are in independent "white" South Africa. But nationalist currents are moving strongly all over Africa today: nationalist demands in French North Africa, Egypt's demand for control of the Suez Canal and the Sudan, the Mau Mau movement in Kenya, pressure for greater independence in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, bitter African opposition to the proposed Central African Federation, and resistance to *apartheid*³ in South Africa.

Political Systems in Africa

There are some forty different political systems in

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Africa. These include five independent states: Libya, Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, and the Union of South Africa, and one practically self-governing territory (Southern Rhodesia) in the British Empire. There are Belgian, British, French, Portuguese, and Spanish colonies, and Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy also administer Trusteeship territories under the U.N. Algeria is a Metropolitan Department of France, but Tunis and Morocco are protectorates. Until 1948 South Africa governed Southwest Africa under a mandate from the League of Nations.

In addition to 800 or more African languages there are also the different languages of the ruling powers. Since boundary lines depended in the beginning largely on the extent of territory the conquering powers were able to hold, little account was taken of tribal divisions.

The Belgian Congo is governed entirely from Belgium. Neither white man nor black has a vote. The theory is: "To dominate in order to serve." It is described by Harold R. Isaacs as "a pervasive paternalism." It is without representative institutions of any kind, although an advisory council includes "a few natives."

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In the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Gambia, Africans have more power than elsewhere in colonial Africa. In the Gold Coast, although certain reserved powers still rest with the British Governor, eight of the eleven cabinet ministers, including the Prime Minister, are Africans.

Nigeria, which is now the largest colony in the world, has had since January 1, 1952, three separate regional councils and assemblies, and a central legislative council and a central executive council, all of which have an African majority.

In East and Central Africa the Africans are far less advanced politically. But, according to Mr. Isaacs, the "problem of European-African relationships lies in the forefront of all affairs." The highlands of these territories are more healthful than West Africa for white settlers, who want to maintain white supremacy. Southern Rhodesia's native policy is less extreme than that of the Union of South Africa but it is highly restrictive. The great issue for Africans in the proposed federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is the question whether the more restrictive laws of Southern Rhodesia would prevail in the other two territories. Extremely little opportunity for any effective representation of African opinion is provided in the proposed plan. Informed Africans are, therefore, bitterly opposed to it. The white settlers, it is said, want federation in part to avoid domination by the Union of South Africa and in part to gain full control of native policy in their areas.

Tanganyika and Uganda with fewer Europeans are in a less tense situation. The long struggle against the Mau Mau in Kenya indicates the bitterness of some Africans.

South Africa

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The Interrelatedness of Africa

For a long time the different peoples of Africa were isolated from each other, with little or no interest beyond their own tribe—or their traditional enemies. Increasingly, both governments and peoples, white or colored, are concerned over what is happening in the rest of the continent. North Africa is becoming interested in the French colonies of Central Africa. One of the two basic problems in the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations was the question whether the Sudan should be entirely under Egyptian control—or whether the Sudanese should have some voice in their disposition. The waters of the Nile

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South African demands for *apartheid* alarm Africans all over the continent. Similarly, Mau Mau terrorism in Kenya alarms white persons in all Africa. The degree of self-government reached in the Gold Coast or Nigeria does not satisfy African nationalist demands—but it is terrifying to the East African white settlers and to South African Afrikaners who want to maintain white supremacy. The very slight recognition of African interests in the proposals for the federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is completely unacceptable to the Africans. But the possibility of Africans being regarded as fit to take part in government at some future time is seen as a threat to white South Africa.

The Impact of the West

Africa is no longer the "Dark Continent" of the nineteenth century. Africans are being forced, says Dr. Emory Ross in *African Heritage*⁷, to "change their whole way of life faster than any comparable group in human history. The change . . . is from a primitive communalism to an advanced individualism." The traditional animism of the African south of the Sahara is challenged by Islam, by Christianity, by sheer materialism, and, to some extent at least, by communism.

Social and Economic Questions

It is often assumed that the African population is increasing. The most careful students of the subject, however, are doubtful. Lord Hailey, an outstanding British authority on colonial questions, concludes that for the majority of tribes "it is at present impossible to say with confidence whether they are reproducing themselves or not." The population, he thinks, "may very likely be about stationary."⁸

The increasing drive for industrialization raises many problems. Will there actually be enough workers of sufficient skill to make adequate development of Africa's rich resources possible? Some South Africans—including industrialists and businessmen—think that this is impossible unless the level of the African both as producer and consumer is raised.⁹ Without more skilled labor adequate production is not possible. Without the African as consumer the market cannot be developed adequately. In March, 1952, almost 60 per cent of the African industrial workers in Kenya earned less than \$10.00 in cash monthly, some also get food and housing (*New York Times*, March 25, 1953).

There are, of course, many reasons for this situation. Many Africans do not yet depend entirely on their wages. Many employers assume that low wages mean a low cost for labor. White trade unions have tended to try to keep the Africans to unskilled labor.

There are still other grave problems. When large numbers of men are away from their homes for a year or more at a time—in mines, on farms, or in industry—the economy of the section in which they live and their

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⁸ *An African Survey*. By William M. Hailey. New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, p. 125.

⁹ *Africa South of the Sahara*. An Assessment of Human and Natural Resources. Prepared by a Study Group of the South African Institute of International Affairs. New York, Oxford University Press, 1952. \$6.00, p. 176, 191.

⁶ *Church of England Newspaper* (London), March 6, 1953.

family and communal life are seriously affected. Again, if the whole family moves to the city, it involves a tremendous change in the way of life.

Dr. Ross estimates that only about 3.3 per cent of the population of Africa south of the Sahara is really urbanized. There may be a hundred or more different tribes and languages in a single city. "In some places they live in compounds. Elsewhere they are in awful slums. Even where housing is good . . . the social and spiritual problems remain and mount."

Race Relations

The color bar ranges from "implicit attitudes in some regions to highly explicit legal barriers in others," Mr. Isaacs comments. "It is made to appear less obtrusive in French and Portuguese Africa. In British Africa the intensity varies in relation to the size and character of the white population. . . . Where there are only small groups of white officials and residents, . . . the relationship between the races is much less emotionally charged. In other areas, which have large white settled minorities . . . the fear of the African majority has assumed almost psychotic proportions. There the maintenance of white supremacy is the paramount aim. . . ."

Dr. Z. K. Matthews of Fort Hare University College, South Africa, an African, and recently visiting professor at Union Theological Seminary, New York, says in the *Saturday Review* for May 2 that "the African stand has always been for cooperation. . . . But the rise to power of non-cooperationists among the Europeans is giving rise . . . to a movement of non-cooperation among Africans." There is, he says, grave danger that "the use of force on the white side will bring to the forefront among the non-whites those leaders who also believe in violent methods as the best way of achieving their ends." It will "surely happen unless the believers in cooperation between black and white, especially on the white side, can . . . summon up enough courage to . . . launch a new current in the direction of the policy of equal rights for all." But "meeting-points between Europeans and Africans are disappearing."

Some Points of View

Stuart Cloete, widely-known South African novelist, writes gloomily in *Life* for May 4 that the Africans are "developing into a black proletariat which can only be dominated by force." If the African is to handle machinery, he must be able to write. But then "he can also read the Communist Manifesto. If he can write he can communicate with his fellows and organize." The "country boys" come into the big cities—"utterly uprooted and drifting by degrees into crime—becoming slowly more and more dangerous until now in most cities every house is barred and everything is locked whenever the house is left empty for an hour. So here it is the white man who is in prison."

An Englishman who served with Kikuyu troops during World War II tells of an officer who said to him: "Don't try to treat them like human beings." The following day he saw a "clever, sensitive-looking" young Kikuyu from that officer's company being taken to jail under guard. "In a company like that," he said, such a man "was bound to end with a jail sentence." Another officer told him that one might get away with robbing an African of his property, "but hurt his . . . decent human pride and he'll never forgive" (*Church of England Newspaper*, London, April 24).

Dr. Z. K. Matthews writes in the article already quoted: "It would be very easy to win the government's applause by giving the assurance that . . . any trouble among Africans is due to the misguided efforts of a few intellectuals from the big cities. But none of these things would be true. . . ."

"The African . . . maintains that what has been built in his land has been the result of joint efforts of black and white. However humble the contribution of the African may have been in certain directions, there can to his mind be no doubt that this contribution has been *indispensable*."

The Color Bar in Industry

The status of the African worker shifts as one travels north. In South Africa the African does little or no skilled work in industry. In Southern Rhodesia he may do skilled work—at lower wages—in small communities and small industries. Except for the Rhodesia Railway African Employees Union it is illegal for him to belong to a recognized labor union. In Northern Rhodesia some African unions are recognized and the men do skilled labor in many (but not all) types of work. Still farther north in the Belgian Congo the African worker may take great responsibility.

Last March the principal South African labor organizations declared that labor unions should be open to all "irrespective of race or color." (*New York Times*, March 30.) On May 2 two of the leading Northern Rhodesian copper mines asked the all-white Northern Rhodesian Copper Miners Union to admit Africans to its membership, which would mean allowing them to do more highly-skilled work than is now permitted by the terms of the union's agreement with the companies. A Northern Rhodesian public commission of inquiry recently declared that "harmonious labor relations would not exist in the area until steps had been taken 'to enable the African workers to advance to positions of greater responsibility and importance than those which are now open to them.'" (*New York Times*, May 5.) The color bar in the mines was adopted on union insistence.

The Church in Africa

"Numerically, at least," Christianity has made more progress against animistic religion than Islam, secularism, or communism, Dr. Emory Ross says in his *African Heritage*, already quoted. Animism is, however, "still the mass religion of Africa." There are about 21,000,000 African Christians. Christianity provides about 85 per cent of all education in Africa south of the Sahara. Dr. Z. K. Matthews said in his inaugural address at Union Theological Seminary last fall: "Not only has the Church been a pioneer in many fields of endeavor on behalf of the African people, but it has . . . kept abreast of all the most constructive developments on different parts of the continent."

But, quoting Dr. Ross again, Christianity is Western, "fashioned and flavored . . . by Western thought and experience . . . almost wholly foreign to African thought and experience." Christianity is very largely "functionally dissociated" from Western science and technology.

But to the African "religion . . . simply cannot be dissociated from these other aspects . . . of life." Thus he blames Christianity when he feels injustice from Westerners. Many Africans feel either that Christians are "deliberately ranging themselves with those exploiters the oppressors who are of their own race and color, to further dominate the Africans; or Christianity cannot be

much of a religion" if it cannot control the lives of its members. The divisions between Roman Catholic and Protestant, between Protestant denominations, and between white and African heighten this disillusionment.

"Is the Gospel too Subversive for Africa?" asks Darrell Randall, a Methodist missionary in Africa, in the *Saturday Review* for May 2. "The teaching that every human being is important in the sight of God, 'The Father of all mankind,' and the building-up of hopes for a 'heavenly relationship among mankind' provide a basis for a religious ethic that can shake the very foundation of the society around them. Even if they never get to read anything else, they have read enough to begin thinking of a new order."

About five years ago Mr. Randall was asked by the South African Institute of Race Relations to organize a conference of non-European Christians. They quoted Christian teaching, particularly the parables of the Good Samaritan and the Last Judgment. The older leaders said: "Unless you can help us put these principles into action in all of life, in this generation, we are going to find more and more of our young people becoming disappointed . . . eventually rejecting our leadership and looking for leadership elsewhere." These ideas the writer comments are "Christian doctrine itself." At the same time he points out the cost to white people of the abolition of discrimination—in terms of wages, competitive costs in industry, fears of reprisals if "what is sometimes called the 'Black Flood' emerges to acquire political and economic control," and charges of "Communist" for those who declare their convictions.

African members of the conference at Wittenberg in 1952 presented an "appeal for Christian action." They asked, in part, "that freely chosen representatives of the African peoples be allowed to participate fully and at all levels" when policies affecting African interests are formulated.

"That the Christian churches throughout the world use their influence to mitigate or eliminate the evil effects of the . . . divisions imposed on the African peoples.

"That whatever changes are contemplated and instituted should give deep consideration to the life, welfare, wishes and aspirations of the African peoples. . . .

"That the interests of the inarticulate peoples of Africa should be made the special concern of the world conscience, stirred by Christians the world over. . . .

"That the various Christian councils operating in these areas set up study groups and investigating committees" to bring "to light the real facts" of the economic, political, and social changes now taking place in Africa.

Africa, the U. N., and the U. S.

To new nations like India and Pakistan the colonial question is "the biggest political problem of the day," as Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan of Pakistan said in the U.N. General Assembly on November 14, 1951.¹ Great Britain, France, and Belgium are not only great colonial powers in Africa; they are also leading democratic powers in NATO. The United States finds itself pulled between its traditional anti-colonialism and the need for Western unity.

Francis B. Sayre, U. S. representative on the U.N. Trusteeship Council from 1947 to 1952, discusses some of these problems in *Foreign Affairs* for July, 1952. On the outcome of the policies "we adopt toward the back-

ward areas of Asia and Africa . . . hangs the future of civilization." There are three reasons why this is true: the "appalling human need" since "living standards in most of Asia and Africa are the lowest in the world," "the cruel racial discrimination and exploitation" of "nineteenth century colonialism," and "surging forces of nationalism." There are "three major sources of danger of the first magnitude": these vast areas may be "won by Soviet agents," the more remote possibility of some other "still more perilous ideology," and the "ominous cleavages" among Western nations due to the "growing demand" for "immediate political independence."

"Under the system of national sovereignty as developed in international law" the colonial powers "consider today that their right to control and rule these people is legally and constitutionally unassailable." However strongly entrenched in law and in constitutional theory that right may be, "there is a growing tendency in the public mind to shift the issue from constitutional to moral considerations." But "the maintenance of independence and the development of economic and industrial resources cost money and require trained personnel. . . . Underdeveloped peoples cannot be left to live on in ignorance and want even if they would. In many of the underdeveloped areas in Asia and Africa we today have perhaps our last opportunity to meet these problems with humane and Christian solutions."

This raises grave questions. Have the majority group in the U.N. the right to question the way the colonial powers treat their dependent peoples? The former insist that they have; the others that they have not. A number of cases have been brought to the U.N., e.g., South Africa's handling of Southwest Africa and France in Morocco.

"Whatever the facts may be" in regard to the French regimes in North Africa, Mr. Sayre comments, "the Arab resentment, based on a widespread belief by Arab peoples of French suppression and 'colonialism,' is an undeniable fact." The Arab states have asked for a discussion of the question in the U.N. but France has "strenuously objected." For the United States to accept the Arab proposal would "risk the alienation of France, whose military assistance is of key importance in the world struggle for human freedom." By our failure to do so "we damaged the friendship for us of the Arab and Middle Eastern peoples, whose support is also vital for the protection of American interests and the preservation of peace." This dilemma is developing into a "deepening and immensely dangerous cleavage" in the U.N.

America's direct concern in Africa was stated on January 31 by Vernon McKay, acting officer in charge of Trusteeship Affairs in the State Department.² Among the factors determining our policy in Africa are, he said, "the traditional humanitarianism of the American people," our "vital concern in its political future" that it shall not "fall under Soviet domination or influence," our strategic interest, and our economic stake.

Private direct investments in Africa by American business total nearly 30 million dollars, Mr. McKay said. Postwar economic aid to Africa through U. S. government agencies, the United Nations, and the International Bank through June 30, 1952, was \$635,986,000. Of this, \$296,222,700 was in loans. The Foreign Missions Division of the National Council of Churches estimates that in 1950 its member agencies spent almost \$4,670,000 in Africa south of the Sahara.

¹ *State Department Bulletin*, February 16, 1953, p. 272.

² *Department of State Bulletin*, February 16, 1953.

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There are still other grave problems. When large numbers of men are away from their homes for a year or more at a time—in mines, on farms, or in industry—the economy of the section in which they live and their

⁷ New York, Friendship Press, 1952, p. 11.

⁸ *An African Survey*. By William M. Hailey. New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, p. 125.

⁹ *Africa South of the Sahara*. An Assessment of Human and Natural Resources. Prepared by a Study Group of the South African Institute of International Affairs. New York, Oxford University Press, 1952. \$6.00, p. 176, 191.

⁶ *Church of England Newspaper* (London), March 6, 1953.

family and communal life are seriously affected. Again, if the whole family moves to the city, it involves a tremendous change in the way of life.

Dr. Ross estimates that only about 3.3 per cent of the population of Africa south of the Sahara is really urbanized. There may be a hundred or more different tribes and languages in a single city. "In some places they live in compounds. Elsewhere they are in awful slums. Even where housing is good . . . the social and spiritual problems remain and mount."

Race Relations

The color bar ranges from "implicit attitudes in some regions to highly explicit legal barriers in others," Mr. Isaacs comments. "It is made to appear less obtrusive in French and Portuguese Africa. In British Africa the intensity varies in relation to the size and character of the white population. . . . Where there are only small groups of white officials and residents, . . . the relationship between the races is much less emotionally charged. In other areas, which have large white settled minorities . . . the fear of the African majority has assumed almost psychotic proportions. There the maintenance of white supremacy is the paramount aim. . . ."

Dr. Z. K. Matthews of Fort Hare University College, South Africa, an African, and recently visiting professor at Union Theological Seminary, New York, says in the *Saturday Review* for May 2 that "the African stand has always been for cooperation. . . . But the rise to power of non-cooperationists among the Europeans is giving rise . . . to a movement of non-cooperation among Africans." There is, he says, grave danger that "the use of force on the white side will bring to the forefront among the non-whites those leaders who also believe in violent methods as the best way of achieving their ends." It will "surely happen unless the believers in cooperation between black and white, especially on the white side, can . . . summon up enough courage to . . . launch a new current in the direction of the policy of equal rights for all." But "meeting-points between Europeans and Africans are disappearing."

Some Points of View

Stuart Cloete, widely-known South African novelist, writes gloomily in *Life* for May 4 that the Africans are "developing into a black proletariat which can only be dominated by force." If the African is to handle machinery, he must be able to write. But then "he can also read the Communist Manifesto. If he can write he can communicate with his fellows and organize." The "country boys" come into the big cities—"utterly uprooted and drifting by degrees into crime—becoming slowly more and more dangerous until now in most cities every house is barred and everything is locked whenever the house is left empty for an hour. So here it is the white man who is in prison."

An Englishman who served with Kikuyu troops during World War II tells of an officer who said to him: "Don't try to treat them like human beings." The following day he saw a "clever, sensitive-looking" young Kikuyu from that officer's company being taken to jail under guard. "In a company like that," he said, such a man "was bound to end with a jail sentence." Another officer told him that one might get away with robbing an African of his property, "but hurt his . . . decent human pride and he'll never forgive" (*Church of England Newspaper*, London, April 24).

Dr. Z. K. Matthews writes in the article already quoted: "It would be very easy to win the government's applause by giving the assurance that . . . any trouble among Africans is due to the misguided efforts of a few intellectuals from the big cities. But none of these things would be true. . . ."

"The African . . . maintains that what has been built in his land has been the result of joint efforts of black and white. However humble the contribution of the African may have been in certain directions, there can to his mind be no doubt that this contribution has been *indispensable*."

The Color Bar in Industry

The status of the African worker shifts as one travels north. In South Africa the African does little or no skilled work in industry. In Southern Rhodesia he may do skilled work—at lower wages—in small communities and small industries. Except for the Rhodesia Railway African Employees Union it is illegal for him to belong to a recognized labor union. In Northern Rhodesia some African unions are recognized and the men do skilled labor in many (but not all) types of work. Still farther north in the Belgian Congo the African worker may take great responsibility.

Last March the principal South African labor organizations declared that labor unions should be open to all "irrespective of race or color." (*New York Times*, March 30.) On May 2 two of the leading Northern Rhodesian copper mines asked the all-white Northern Rhodesian Copper Miners Union to admit Africans to its membership, which would mean allowing them to do more highly-skilled work than is now permitted by the terms of the union's agreement with the companies. A Northern Rhodesian public commission of inquiry recently declared that "harmonious labor relations would not exist in the area until steps had been taken 'to enable the African workers to advance to positions of greater responsibility and importance than those which are now open to them.'" (*New York Times*, May 5.) The color bar in the mines was adopted on union insistence.

The Church in Africa

"Numerically, at least," Christianity has made more progress against animistic religion than Islam, secularism, or communism, Dr. Emory Ross says in his *African Heritage*, already quoted. Animism is, however, "still the mass religion of Africa." There are about 21,000,000 African Christians. Christianity provides about 85 per cent of all education in Africa south of the Sahara. Dr. Z. K. Matthews said in his inaugural address at Union Theological Seminary last fall: "Not only has the Church been a pioneer in many fields of endeavor on behalf of the African people, but it has . . . kept abreast of all the most constructive developments on different parts of the continent."

But, quoting Dr. Ross again, Christianity is Western, "fashioned and flavored . . . by Western thought and experience . . . almost wholly foreign to African thought and experience." Christianity is very largely "functionally dissociated" from Western science and technology.

But to the African "religion . . . simply cannot be dissociated from these other aspects . . . of life." Thus he blames Christianity when he feels injustice from Westerners. Many Africans feel either that Christians are "deliberately ranging themselves with those exploiters the oppressors who are of their own race and color, to further dominate the Africans; or Christianity cannot be

much of a religion" if it cannot control the lives of its members. The divisions between Roman Catholic and Protestant, between Protestant denominations, and between white and African heighten this disillusionment.

"Is the Gospel too Subversive for Africa?" asks Darrell Randall, a Methodist missionary in Africa, in the *Saturday Review* for May 2. "The teaching that every human being is important in the sight of God, 'The Father of all mankind,' and the building-up of hopes for a 'heavenly relationship among mankind' provide a basis for a religious ethic that can shake the very foundation of the society around them. Even if they never get to read anything else, they have read enough to begin thinking of a new order."

About five years ago Mr. Randall was asked by the South African Institute of Race Relations to organize a conference of non-European Christians. They quoted Christian teaching, particularly the parables of the Good Samaritan and the Last Judgment. The older leaders said: "Unless you can help us put these principles into action in all of life, in this generation, we are going to find more and more of our young people becoming disappointed . . . eventually rejecting our leadership and looking for leadership elsewhere." These ideas the writer comments are "Christian doctrine itself." At the same time he points out the cost to white people of the abolition of discrimination—in terms of wages, competitive costs in industry, fears of reprisals if "what is sometimes called the 'Black Flood' emerges to acquire political and economic control," and charges of "Communist" for those who declare their convictions.

African members of the conference at Wittenberg in 1952 presented an "appeal for Christian action." They asked, in part, "that freely chosen representatives of the African peoples be allowed to participate fully and at all levels" when policies affecting African interests are formulated.

"That the Christian churches throughout the world use their influence to mitigate or eliminate the evil effects of the . . . divisions imposed on the African peoples.

"That whatever changes are contemplated and instituted should give deep consideration to the life, welfare, wishes and aspirations of the African peoples. . . .

"That the interests of the inarticulate peoples of Africa should be made the special concern of the world conscience, stirred by Christians the world over. . . .

"That the various Christian councils operating in these areas set up study groups and investigating committees" to bring "to light the real facts" of the economic, political, and social changes now taking place in Africa.

Africa, the U. N., and the U. S.

To new nations like India and Pakistan the colonial question is "the biggest political problem of the day," as Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan of Pakistan said in the U.N. General Assembly on November 14, 1951.¹ Great Britain, France, and Belgium are not only great colonial powers in Africa; they are also leading democratic powers in NATO. The United States finds itself pulled between its traditional anti-colonialism and the need for Western unity.

Francis B. Sayre, U. S. representative on the U.N. Trusteeship Council from 1947 to 1952, discusses some of these problems in *Foreign Affairs* for July, 1952. On the outcome of the policies "we adopt toward the back-

ward areas of Asia and Africa . . . hangs the future of civilization." There are three reasons why this is true: the "appalling human need" since "living standards in most of Asia and Africa are the lowest in the world," "the cruel racial discrimination and exploitation" of "nineteenth century colonialism," and "surging forces of nationalism." There are "three major sources of danger of the first magnitude": these vast areas may be "won by Soviet agents," the more remote possibility of some other "still more perilous ideology," and the "ominous cleavages" among Western nations due to the "growing demand" for "immediate political independence."

"Under the system of national sovereignty as developed in international law" the colonial powers "consider today that their right to control and rule these people is legally and constitutionally unassailable." However strongly entrenched in law and in constitutional theory that right may be, "there is a growing tendency in the public mind to shift the issue from constitutional to moral considerations." But "the maintenance of independence and the development of economic and industrial resources cost money and require trained personnel. . . . Underdeveloped peoples cannot be left to live on in ignorance and want even if they would. In many of the underdeveloped areas in Asia and Africa we today have perhaps our last opportunity to meet these problems with humane and Christian solutions."

This raises grave questions. Have the majority group in the U.N. the right to question the way the colonial powers treat their dependent peoples? The former insist that they have; the others that they have not. A number of cases have been brought to the U.N., e.g., South Africa's handling of Southwest Africa and France in Morocco.

"Whatever the facts may be" in regard to the French regimes in North Africa, Mr. Sayre comments, "the Arab resentment, based on a widespread belief by Arab peoples of French suppression and 'colonialism,' is an undeniable fact." The Arab states have asked for a discussion of the question in the U.N. but France has "strenuously objected." For the United States to accept the Arab proposal would "risk the alienation of France, whose military assistance is of key importance in the world struggle for human freedom." By our failure to do so "we damaged the friendship for us of the Arab and Middle Eastern peoples, whose support is also vital for the protection of American interests and the preservation of peace." This dilemma is developing into a "deepening and immensely dangerous cleavage" in the U.N.

America's direct concern in Africa was stated on January 31 by Vernon McKay, acting officer in charge of Trusteeship Affairs in the State Department.² Among the factors determining our policy in Africa are, he said, "the traditional humanitarianism of the American people," our "vital concern in its political future" that it shall not "fall under Soviet domination or influence," our strategic interest, and our economic stake.

Private direct investments in Africa by American business total nearly 30 million dollars, Mr. McKay said. Postwar economic aid to Africa through U. S. government agencies, the United Nations, and the International Bank through June 30, 1952, was \$635,986,000. Of this, \$296,222,700 was in loans. The Foreign Missions Division of the National Council of Churches estimates that in 1950 its member agencies spent almost \$4,670,000 in Africa south of the Sahara.

¹ *State Department Bulletin*, February 16, 1953, p. 272.

² *Department of State Bulletin*, February 16, 1953.